

# ***INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY***

***VI SEMESTER***

Core Course

( ADDITIONAL LESSONS - MODULE VI )

***B A POLITICAL SCIENCE***

*(2013 Admission)*



**UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT**

**SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION**

Calicut University P.O, Malappuram Kerala, India 673 635.

**255-A**

# UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

## VI Semester

### STUDY MATERIAL

*Core Course*

## B.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE

(2013 Admission)

( ADDITIONAL LESSONS - MODULE VI )

### ***INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY***

Prepared by **Sri. Salin C Simon**  
**P.G Department of Political Science,**  
**Sree Kerala Varma College, Thrissur.**

Scrutinized by **Dr. G.Sadanandan**  
**Associate Professor and Head,**  
**P.G Department of Political Science**  
**Sree Kerala Varma College, Thrissur.**

*Layout: Computer Section, SDE*

©  
Reserved

## **MODULE VI:**

### **INDIA AND UNO**

India continued to play an active role in the United Nations (UN) focusing on the ongoing process of reforming the UN Organization with a view to enhancing its representative nature and its credibility, and therefore, its effectiveness. In collaboration with other member states, India continued to work for reform of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and to revitalize the General Assembly.

India has been one of the original 51 members of the United Nations who signed the UN Charter. It participated in the San Francisco Conference and became the member of the United Nations Organisation on 30 October 1945. India has long and glorious associations with the United Nations. Throughout these many decades, India has given its best to the United Nations and to the world-its best economists, doctors and engineers, its most promising ideas. India has also given the most talented nationals who have served with distinction as envoys and UN staff members.

After attaining Independence, India came out more forcefully to participate in the activities of the United Nations. The constitution of India reaffirmed. Under Article 51, India's commitment to "promote international peace and security; to maintain just and honourable relations among nations; to foster respect for International Law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another; and to encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration and other peaceful means". In carrying out this commitment, India regards the UN as invaluable platform for global deliberations, negotiations and diplomacy. India has used the General Assembly platform for voicing strongest opposition to imperialism, colonialism and apartheid.

### **EVOLUTION OF UNITED NATIONS**

The United Nations is described as the symbol of hope of the mankind. The United Nations is an organisation of 193 sovereign states. It was set up in 1945 to replace the ill-fated League of Nations. The Allies, who were fighting the Axis Powers in the Second World War to destroy dictatorship and secure democracy for the world, resolved to establish a new world organisation rather than revive the League of Nations.

The need for an international organization to resolve various issues, problems among the nation-states through peaceful means was first realized strongly in the aftermath of First World War. It was argued by many that the creation of an international organization would help in avoiding the war. With this spirit, the League of Nations was created. To create an organization which can control the national power was an unpalatable idea for the then ambitious nation states. However the League of Nations could not survive among nations who viewed international system as anarchic and conflict as an unavoidable instrument to achieve the national interest. The League failed to save the world from the fatal Second World War. The colossal destruction caused by the Second World War convinced the international community about the truth that the third world war will result into end of mankind on earth. Hence the international community realized that international cooperative efforts are imperative to save the world from the danger of third world war. This realization paved the way for the establishment of the UN.

The United Nations was established on 24th October 1945. To maintain international peace and security, to achieve economic and social development through international cooperation, to protect human rights were the main objectives behind the establishment of the organization. These objectives have been reflected explicitly in the UN constitution. The adoption of the UN Charter in 1945 was a defining moment since it heralded the creation of a new world order. The charters of the UN become the constitution of the international community. The UN is founded on the idealistic vision of creation of an universal IGO as a strategy to promote cooperation, common interests among sovereign states and manage conflicts in an international system lacked central authority. The Charter of the UN identified six agencies as the principal organs of the UN including- the security council, general assembly, the secretariat, international court of justice ,trusteeship council, and the economic and social council. Apart from these more than 30 multilateral institutions, agencies, structures have been created under jurisdiction of the UN in last six decades.

The foundation of the UN is based on two pillars. Firstly, on international law and secondly on cherished human values, ideals. The UN is founded on the basis of some fundamental principles of international law- sovereign equality among nations, non interference in the international affairs of a sovereign nation, resolving problems, issues among states not through conflict but through cooperation, right to self defence are some fundamental principles on which the foundation of the UN is base. These principles reflect through the various articles of the UN constitution. These principles have determined future course of action for the UN. Along with the principles of international law, the UN foundation is based on basic human values like peace, Cooperation, fraternity, freedom and equality.

The UN is committed for the promotion and the protection of these values. These are the directive principles of the UN. One of the basic objectives of the UN is to promote and protect human rights has emanated from these values. The former American foreign minister Cordell Hull observed that the UN has been established for the fulfilment of humanities highest aspirations. The UN took a revolutionary step in the direction of protecting human rights on 10th December 1948 by declaring and adopting Human Rights Manifesto. In last sixty years the UN has concluded more than agreements for the promotion and protection of human rights.

United Nations is known as an executive international council devoted to solve bilateral, regional and global level problems among nation states. It is an ideal example of multilateralism. While solving the problems among nations the UN attempts to coordinate policies and actions of the member states. The UN is an excellent platform for resolving problems among nations through mutual cooperation, collective discussion and peace. The UN is mechanism for conflict resolution in the international security affairs. The UN has provided a platform where the states can promote their views and bring their disputes.

According to Shasi Tharoor, “the UN is a forum where sovereign states can work out strategies for tackling global problems and an instrument for putting those strategies into effect.” The UN is a platform that provides opportunity to the members to place their problems, make arguments, to communicate their stand to international community and to consult with others. Along with national level problems there are several international problems also concerns the whole international community for example- to protecting human

rights, environment pollution, proliferation of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism. The UN attempts to mobilize international public opinion on these problems and seek international cooperation to solve it. To solve such global level problems not only coordination of relations but harmonizing actions of nations is also required. While underscoring the contribution of the UN in last six decades, Ines Cloud, an expert on UN has rightly observed "In any case, the United Nations is no longer ignored and neglected; whether it is regarded with utopian idealism or with cynical disdain, It has achieved notable visibility."

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

The United Nations is "sharing in the name of solidarity". The mankind's hope and involvement is reflected in the Preamble itself. It says: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind.... do hereby establish an international organisation to be known as (he United Nations." Thus, unlike the League of Nations, people of the world are source of power of the United Nations. Purposes of the United Nations are stated in Article 1 of the Charter. Briefly, these purposes are: (a) to maintain international peace and security; and with that aim in view to take effective collective security measures, for prevention and removal of threats to peace; (b) to develop friendly relations among nations; (c) to achieve international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems; and (d) to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends. Thus, the United Nations is a necessity for maintenance of international peace, for protection of human rights, and for socio-economic development of the member-states.

Article 2 of the Charter lays down seven principles for the guidance of the UN and its Members in pursuit of the above mentioned purposes. These are: (i) sovereign equality of all the Members of UN; (ii) all Members shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter, (iii) peaceful settlement of international disputes so that international peace and security, and justice, are not threatened; (iv) all Members will refrain from threat, or use of force against the territorial integrity of other states; (v) all Members will give all possible assistance to the United Nations, and will not give any help to a country against whom the UN is taking action; (vi) the UN will try to ensure that even non-members act in accordance with the principles of the Charter; and (vii) the United Nations shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within domestic jurisdiction of the states. These principles sum up the objectives for which the UN was established. Thus, sovereignty of nations is to be honoured, their integrity protected, disputes are to be peacefully resolved, use of force is to be avoided, and no action is to be taken by the UN in matters falling within the domestic jurisdiction of the states. All the provisions of the Charter revolve around the above mentioned purposes and principles. Non-intervention in domestic jurisdiction of states is indicative of emphasis on Member's sovereignty, and consequently a (self-imposed) restriction on the United Nations.

## **MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

Membership of the United Nations is open to all sovereign, peace-loving states of the world. According to Article 3 of the Charter, the countries who attended the San Francisco Conference, and those who had signed the United Nations Declaration on January 1, 1942 became original Members of the United Nations. The number of such original Members was 51. Later, according to Article 4, "all peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter", could be admitted as Members of the UN. Admission of new members is effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Accordingly, many countries who could not become members in 1945 were later admitted to the membership of the UN. Besides, a large number of countries who were colonies were admitted from time to time as they attained independence. When Soviet Union disintegrated, all its erstwhile Union Republics, who became sovereign states, were admitted. Earlier when India was partitioned in 1947, Pakistan was made a Member (India was already a Member of the UN), or when in 1992 Czechoslovakia was partitioned into two, both Czech Republic and Slovakia were allowed to become Members of the World Body. With the completion of the process of decolonisation and disintegration of the former USSR, the number of members went up to 185. Russia was allowed, in 1992, to replace the former Soviet Union and occupy its permanent seat in the Security Council. Earlier, membership of certain countries like West and East Germany and Japan was delayed for many years on account of cold war politics.

The question of representation of People's Republic of China had become a subject of serious conflict in the context of the cold war. When the Charter was adopted, and when the UN was initially established, Republic of China had become a founder-member, and as a Big Power, occupied permanent seat in the Security Council. After the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek regime in Chinese mainland, the new government of People's Republic of China sought to replace the Chiang regime's representation in the UN. As the United States refused to recognise Communist China, and as USSR supported the demand of representation of People's Republic (Communist) of China, the issue became involved in the cold war. For some time, the USSR boycotted the U.N. bodies. It was during this boycott that North Korea was declared aggressor by the Security Council. After more than 20 years of the establishment of People's Republic, the United States finally agreed not to veto the change in representation of China. In 1971, Republic of China (Taiwan) was removed, and People's Republic of China was allowed to be represented in the UN, with permanent membership of the Security Council.

India consistently supported People's Republic of China in its endeavour to get representation in the United Nations. Besides, India stood for universality of the United Nations and generally voted for admission of new members.

### **PRINCIPAL ORGANS AND SPECIALISED AGENCIES**

A brief mention of principal organs of the UN and its specialised agencies will not be out of place, though it could have even been avoided in this chapter on India's role in the United Nations. Six principal organs created by the UN Charter are: The General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. The General Assembly being a plenary organ consists of all the (192) Members of the United Nations. The General Assembly meets at least once a year, and can discuss any matter within the scope of UN Charter, and may make recommendations to

the Members, or to the Security Council or direct to the Secretary-General. It elects non-permanent members of the Security Council and has other electoral functions and functions related to international peace and cooperation.

The Security Council consists of 5 permanent and 10 non-permanent members. The Security Council has the primary responsibility of maintenance of international peace and security. It performs important functions in the areas of pacific settlement of international disputes, initiates collective security measures and organises UN peace keeping activities. The Economic and Social Council consists of 54 members elected by the General Assembly. It is responsible for socio-economic cooperation in the world. The ECOSOC coordinates the activities of several specialised agencies. The Trusteeship Council was responsible for supervision of management of trust territories. These territories were either former mandates or new trust territories detached from Japan and Italy after their defeat in the Second World War. With the process of decolonisation having been completed the Trusteeship Council has ceased to be of much use. International Court of Justice is the judicial organ of the UN. It is made up of 15 judges elected from as many different countries. These eminent jurists, as judges of ICJ, seek to find just and fair solutions to legal disputes brought to the Court. It interprets international law. It also has advisory jurisdiction and gives advice on matters of law to the UN General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Secretariat is the permanent office of the UN. It comprises a Secretary-General and such staff as the organisation may decide to have. The Secretary General is elected normally from a small Power and is head of the international civil service. He acts as the Secretary General in General Assembly as well as the Security Council. He often brings disputes to the notice of the Security Council, and performs numerous political functions assigned to him by the two principal organs. Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali was denied a second 5-year term in the end of 1996, though earlier incumbents were given this privilege. Ghana's diplomat, and already a senior officer of the Secretariat, Mr. Kofi Annan was elected Secretary General for a 5-year term beginning January 1997. On 13 October 2006, he was elected to be the eighth Secretary-General by the United Nations General Assembly on 1 January 2007, he succeeded Kofi Annan.

The UN has several specialised agencies. These include: (i) Specialised Agencies concerned with technical matters, viz. International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), World Meteorological Organisation (WMO), Universal Postal Union, and International Telecommunication Union; (ii) Agencies engaged in social and humanitarian activities include International Labour Organisation (ILO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), World Health Organisation (WHO), and Food and Agriculture Organisations (FAO); and (iii) Agencies that tackle international financial problems. These include International Monetary Fund, International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), and International Development Authority (IDA). India cooperates with most of these agencies and receives help and assistance from many of them. Two such prominent bodies are UNICEF (Children's Fund) and the United Nations Population Fund.

## **INDIA'S ROLE IN UNITED NATIONS**

India has actively cooperated with various principal organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations. India has served a number of 2-year terms as a non-permanent Member of the Security Council. India's Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit was elected as President of the eighth session of the UN General Assembly. The grace and dignity with which she conducted the proceedings of the General Assembly received all-round acclaim. India's association with the Economic and Social Council is almost permanent and it has offered such assistance in numerous social-economic activities as it is capable of. Eminent Indian jurists, such as B.N. Rau and Nagendra Singh, have served with distinction as judges of the International Court of Justice. Dr. Nagendra Singh was also President of the Court. Various specialised agencies have helped India overcome shortages and solve problems such as of health, malnutrition, food, child care etc.

Nehru's faith in the United Nations and its reconstructive efforts remained the underlying principle of India's policy towards the United Nations, and seeking solution to various international problems through this organisation. A brief discussion on India's contribution to the UN efforts is given below.

The issue of membership of several newly independent countries was one of the earliest issues that attracted India's concern. India fully supported the cause of admission of those sovereign states which were being denied admission. Their membership was being blocked, in the context of Cold War, by one Super Power or the other. These included Japan and a number of socialist countries. India led a group of developing countries whose support proved valuable in getting 16 countries admitted in 1956. India forcefully pleaded for representation of Communist China in the United Nations. The question of Chinese representation remained unresolved from the end of 1949 till October 1971 when finally the US allowed the expulsion of KMT China and its replacement by the People's Republic of China. India supported Chinese admission even after India was attacked by China in 1962. India argued that China as a large sovereign country could not be logically kept out of the world body.

India pleaded strongly for speeding up the process of decolonisation in Asia and Africa. In such cases as Indonesia where imperial Powers tried to block their independence, India helped build public opinion in favour of independence and quick decolonisation of Afro-Asia.

India came out strongly against the maintenance of colonial system. Prime Minister Nehru had argued that colonialism had to disappear so that the world could achieve peace, and "a friendly relationship" could develop between Asia and Europe. He believed that colonialism was obsolete in the contemporary world. Under Nehru's leadership "India decided to create a historic process which, by the very fact of India's independence, was known to be well under way." The first major campaign that India initiated in the United Nations was aimed at forcing the Government of the Netherlands to give up its control over Indonesia. The attention of the Security Council was called by India and Australia, under Articles 34 and 39 of the Charter, to the fighting which had broken out in July 1947 between the Netherlands and Indonesian nationalist forces. Although the Government of the Netherlands sought to invoke provisions of domestic jurisdiction clause saying that Indonesia was its internal matter, yet the Security Council took up the matter, called for an end to hostilities, and asked the parties involved to settle their dispute by peaceful means.



Thus, the Security Council rejected the Dutch contention that UN did not have competence to deal with the case. The conference on Indonesia convened by Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi in January 1949 made significant contribution to the cause of Indonesia's independence which became a reality by the end of 1949.

India, along with other likeminded countries, played a significant role in the release of French colonies of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. India supported the cause of freedom of Cyprus. The Indian efforts in support of national self-determination in the General Assembly resulted in an overwhelming vote in favour of a resolution calling upon member countries to recognise the sovereign right of the peoples of non-self governing territories. The resolution against colonialism declared that "all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty, and the integrity of their national territory." By 1960s most of the colonies had achieved independence, and in the remaining areas the process of decolonisation was nearing completion. As more and more erstwhile colonies emerged as independent states, India played a leading role in bringing them together in the non-aligned movement, which was based on India's policy of non-alignment and was initiated as a movement by Nehru along with Egyptian President Nasser and Yugoslavia's Tito. One of its major achievements was the setting up of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Later, it was on the initiative of NAM that the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution (1974) calling for the creation of a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

India had cut off diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1949. The Government of South Africa was not only in the hands of white minority and it denied the majority coloured people their legitimate right to govern, but it also continued to maintain its hold on Namibia (the former German Colony of South West Africa) which was made a mandated territory in 1919. India fully supported the cause of independence of Namibia and co-sponsored resolutions in the United Nations calling upon South Africa to grant independence to Namibia. The freedom fighters of Namibia recognised India's contribution in the cause of their struggle when they finally won their statehood in 1990.

India is a strong supporter of the UN efforts for protection of human rights. Ever since the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 1948, India has cooperated in implementation of human rights related decisions and resolutions. The two human rights covenants have received India's wholehearted support. The Constitution of India, enacted in 1949, incorporated most of the human rights either as fundamental rights or as directive principles of state policy. Wherever there is violation of human rights, India has raised its voice against such violation. The human rights violation in South Africa is one such case in which India played a leading role in demanding end of all such violations. India either sponsored or, at least, supported resolutions passed by the General Assembly condemning apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid was declared to be a crime against humanity. South African Government was excluded from the General Assembly since 1974. Mandatory arms embargo was imposed against South Africa in 1976 by a unanimous resolution of the Security Council. Led by the UN, several countries had applied comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa and many did not maintain diplomatic relations with the racist regime. India's role was highly appreciated by Dr. Nelson Mandela who became the first non-white President of South Africa in May 1994, after an all-

party election returned him to power. Thus, India led the movement against apartheid both in the United Nations and outside it. India has constituted its own National Human Rights Commission, chaired by a former Chief Justice of India. This Commission is expected to ensure that there are no human rights violations in India. It also suggests measures to check violations and protect human rights in India.

India has played a consistently positive and energetic role in UN efforts for disarmament and arms control. India stands committed to total nuclear disarmament. India pleaded the cause of disarmament and arms control in Eighteen Nations Disarmament Committee, special sessions of the UN General Assembly and finally in Conference on Disarmament(CD). India had signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty, but firmly resisted all pressures to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and blocked the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996.

### **INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS**

India's most significant contribution to the U.N. is in peace operations. India is the largest contributors in terms of numbers of missions, force commanders, and personnel. Currently India is the third highest contributor, with 9,332 Indian soldiers and police on U.N. duty overseas after Bangladesh and Pakistan. India's contribution in the peacekeeping operations is reflective of objectives enshrined in the UN Charter. Maintaining international peace and security is the core objective of UN and India is contributing towards realizing this goal.

Since its independence India has contributing actively in the UN peacekeeping missions in varying capacities. Due to this contribution India has generated huge goodwill around the globe. India is the largest troops contributor to the UN peace operations since 1950s. As of today India has participated in 43 UN peacekeeping missions and more than 1,50,000 troops have deployed by India. While serving on UN missions 135 Indian soldiers have sacrificed their life. Apart from this India has provided military advisors to various UN missions.

According to Ramesh Thakur, an expert on UN there are three broad reasons why India is asked to contribute troops to U.N. operations: 1. The size and professionalism of its armed forces; 2. The lack of such forces from most developing countries until recently; 3. India's influence in world affairs.

India is assisting the UN in maintaining international peace and security through peacekeeping operations since the inception of peacekeeping operations. India's contribution to peacekeeping mission began with 1950-54's Korea's paramedical unit to 2007's Liberia mission. India has participated in UN Peacekeeping missions of Korea, India-China, Middle East, Congo, Cambodia, Mozambique, Somalia, Rwanda, Angola, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Sudan, Ivory Coast, and East Timor, Haiti so far. India is the third largest contributor of troops to United Nations peacekeeping missions after Bangladesh and Pakistan. In the recent past there are 8680 Indian personnel deployed overseas out of which 27 are women in 9 of the 14 peace-keeping operations. Indian troops are more in demand because of their experience, good training and equipment and impeccable disciplinary record.

Apart from troops contribution India has provided Force Commanders to several operations and shared its expertise and experience especially in guerilla warfare and demining activities with UN in the conduction of peacekeeping operations successfully. In

2011-12 three Indian Army Generals are holding crucial postings in UN peacekeeping forces. Lt General Randhir Kumar Mehta is the military advisor to the UN secretary general and two senior Army Generals are heading UN peacekeeping missions up to 2011. India is also providing training to personnel from other countries.

#### **AN ANALYSIS OF FIFTY YEARS RELATION WITH UNITED NATIONS AND INDIA**

India, as mentioned earlier, was one of the founder-Members of the United Nations. During the fifty year period, since its independence, India has maintained close links with the world body. India has contributed to U.N. peace-keeping efforts, and has also been a host to several U.N. agencies. There are country offices of as many as 18 agencies in New Delhi, and they have been working in close cooperation with Government of India as well as some of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs). India's concern for peace has been reflected in her repeated calls for disarmament and complete and comprehensive ban on nuclear and thermonuclear tests, though ironically she has not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) of 1968, on the ground of the treaty being discriminatory in nature. On the same ground, India refused to endorse the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) as adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1996.

India herself is a developing country; and she has consistently been a strong supporter of the U.N. activities of development in other developing countries. India is now the second largest donor to the United Nations Development Programm (UNDP), which is the central development funding agency of the U.N. System. The maximum funds are donated to UNDP by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Some of the major areas of cooperation between India and the U.N. System. Gender inequality has been, and still is, a major global problem. As the Beijing Declaration of the Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995, noted, "Women comprise about half the world's population, perform about two-third of its work, receive only one-tenth of its income, and own less than one-hundredth of world assets". This is pathetic. The Conference declared, "We reaffirm our commitment to ensure full implementation of the human rights of women and of the girl child as inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms". Over the years, several U.N. agencies have been supporting programmes to improve the quality of life for women in India, and more than 100 other countries. The most significant contributions for gender equality and mainstreaming women into development has been made by the U.N. agency UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women). It has been working in association with UNDP and several non-governmental organisations in India. For example SEWA (Self-Employed Women's Association) in India has been dealing with the problem of home workers (domestic help). It has also set up social security schemes for the un-organised women workers. ILO has been supporting both these activities.

An important issue being addressed to in India is to empower women by the Panchayati Raj System. The Government of India, assisted by UNDP and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) has initiated massive country-wide training programme to equip about 8,00,000 women members of the Panchayats to manage local government effectively and transform them into effective agents of social change. Once considered "invisible" in the economy, women today are an important percentage of the country's workforce. Women's

economic contribution was more accurately reflected in the 1991 census. The agencies such as UNFPA, WHO and UNICEF are working in India in the fields of maternal health, female contraception and populations initiatives.

In India, UNDP implements its largest country programme spending about 40 million U.S. dollars per year in assistance. Its assistance supports activities related to areas such as technology transfer for increased industrial productivity, agricultural development, energy and environment, transport, communication and social infrastructure.

Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has been supporting projects in agricultural sector including support of agricultural education, advance research including modern biotechnologies, hybrid rice production, plant quarantine facilities, integrated pest management, long-term support to desert locust control, and technical assistance to National Dairy Development and for increasing milk production. In the forestry sector, FAO supports forestry research and education. It also assists State Forest Departments on human resource development, and to meet the objectives of forest conservation and management. FAO was supporting in 1995 the implementation of 48 projects, including 27 UNDP funded projects. It organises recruitment, of Indian specialists for FAO assignments in other countries, and placement of fellows from other countries for training in Indian institutions. FAO has made very valuable contribution in helping India in boosting of agricultural production in the country. As against production of only 50 million tonnes of food grains in 1950, the country had achieved a record production of 189 million tonnes by 1994-95. India now ranks second in the world in wheat and rice production and first in the production of ground nuts. There has also been remarkable progress, thanks to FAO, in the production of sugar cane, cotton, poultry, milk, fish, vegetables and fruits. This has been made possible through introduction of new technologies in the field of agriculture.

But, in spite of impressive growth, India's food grains output cannot feed its population reaching nearly 1 billion people. According to an estimate nearly 300 million people in India are unable to buy sufficient food to satisfy minimum calorie requirements. Therefore, agriculture development in India has to deal with three basic issues namely, meeting national food requirements, reversing resource degradation and poverty alleviation of its rural population. The World Food Programme of the UN has given assistance for "food for work" programme which helps the lowest-paid workers on large intensive government projects. The World Food Programme (WFP) has enabled economically poor people in rural India to improve their own living conditions while participating in the overall development of the country.

Another agency that has an important mandate is the World Health Organisation (WHO). It directs and coordinates international health work within the family of the United Nations. The WHO has divided itself into six regional offices. Its South-East Asia Regional Office situated in New Delhi promotes health care in 10 countries including India, Myanmar, Indonesia, Thailand, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka. In this region small pox has been eradicated as part of global programme. There are no longer sweeping epidemics like cholera, plague and malaria. With the active support of WHO, India has aimed at health for all by 2000 A.D. It has taken up massive programme to control and fight HIV/AIDS problems. India remains a very active, strong and special partner of WHO. A number of Indian specialists are serving as member of WHO Advisory Panels, Boards and Global

Committees. A large number of foreign fellows continue to receive training in Indian medical institutes.

The World Food Programme (WFP) has been described as the food aid arm of the United Nations. In India, WFP has been supporting the government in handling the problems of poverty, hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy by directly helping the poor, the tribal women and children. Almost all the beneficiaries of WFP projects live in remote rural areas. India had received by 1995 the commitment for assistance worth about one billion U.S. dollars. WFP assistance to India concentrates on three major sectors. They are : (a) tribal development through forestry : (b) integrated child development; and (c) rural development through irrigation, settlement and inland fisheries. The WFP had begun its mission to eradicate hunger in 1963. Food aid is of particular significance to women who are mainly concerned with bringing up the children.

The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) established in 1969 works under the guidance of the ECOSOC. It is the largest international funded source of population assistance worldwide. It helps various governments in designing and implementation of their population programmes. UNFPA has supported India in population activities since 1974. During the 1991-95 period its programme in India, providing assistance of nearly 90 million U.S. dollars was (i) upgrading the capacity as well as the quality of health and family welfare services in states with high birth, death and infant mortality rate; (ii) increasing self-reliance in production of contraceptives, (ii) to help strengthen and intensify information and awareness in support of population programmes; (iv) consolidating achievements in population education; and (v) enhancing women's status by improving their literacy, promoting employment and income generating opportunities in selected areas. The major thrust of UNFPA in India is reproductive health including family planning and sexual health. Its programme includes emphasis on gender equality and empowerment of women.

An area directly related with population activities is the child care. The United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF — originally called UN International Children's Emergency Fund) has a unique mandate to work on behalf of children on the basis of need and without discrimination. It was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1965. The work of UNICEF is based on the premise that all children have rights, and that it is the legal obligation of state and society to ensure that these rights are actually enjoyed. The Convention on the Right of the Child adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989 provides for legal and moral framework for UNICEF's work for children. The Convention has been ratified by most of the Members of the United Nations. India ratified the convention in 1992. and a former cricket captain Ravi Shastri was later appointed UNICEF's National Ambassador for Children. The Articles of the Convention on the Rights of the child have now become basis of UNICEF's work in India. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) now supports and funds in India programmes for children in primary health care, water supply and sanitation, primary education, nutrition and child development. UNICEF is seeking ban on child labour, particularly in the case of carpet industry which is highly injurious to the health of child workers.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is an important specialised agency of the UN system. It is mainly concerned with education. In the field of science and technology, UNESCO seeks to respond to the needs expressed by

Member-states. It recognises importance of communication for development. It also ensures translation of certain master pieces of world literature and recording of traditional music from all regions of the world. The New Delhi office of UNESCO covers 11 countries of South and Central Asia including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Maldives, Nepal and Myanmar. In the field of education, learning Without Barriers is a major step taken to help lower the barriers to education and to create an open flexible learning environment. UNESCO office in New Delhi has given special attention to education of girls and women, distance education and open schooling. It provides funds and assistance for the preservation of tangible and intangible heritage to protect the Indian culture.

The Constitution of UNESCO declares that, "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." It is with this aim in view that the UNESCO concentrates on proper education for all round development of personality of the children as well as adults. To achieve Education for All (EFA) in India, more than 20 million children in 6-14 age groups (of whom 60 per cent are girls) must be reached by the end of twentieth century. UN agencies including UNDP, UNFPA, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank are assisting India in her efforts to reach her literacy and education targets.

Humayun's Tomb and the Qutab Minar in Delhi are among the sites which have been included in UNESCO's World Heritage List. Another unique project which addresses the interface between development and culture aims to assist the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts in demonstrating "how fragments of the cultural past can be recreated," to promote interrelationships between culture, environment and development.

The UNESCO is committed to help India and other developing countries to ensure that education reaches all, and particularly the girl child. As an Algerian reformer A Ibn Badis had said, "Teach a boy and you will train one individual. Teach a girl and you will train the whole nation." It is with this ideal that the UN system in India has been working for education for all, and gender equality especially in the field of education and employment.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) established in 1944 as part of Bretton Woods regime now has about 180 members. It seeks to ensure exchange stability and orderly exchange arrangements among member countries. In addition, lately it has widened its scope and tries to establish a dynamic world economy. The IMF provides financial assistance to countries experiencing balance of payment difficulties. India has been a member and beneficiary of IMF since 1945. IMF supported the stabilisation and structural reform programme that India embarked upon in 1991 with the aim of liberalisation of economy. India, thus, tried to become an active participant in worldwide economic changes, opening up, accepting foreign investment and promoting market economic forces to operate freely. In 1994, India accepted the obligations of Article VIII of the Fund's Article of Agreement, which imposes restrictions on the making of payments and transfers for current international transactions, or to engage in discriminatory currency arrangements or multiple currency practices without the approval of International Monetary Fund. This obligation was severally criticised by certain elements within the country.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) is another agency of the UN. Its aims are to develop the principles and techniques' of international air navigation and to foster the

planning and development of international air transport. India is a member of ICAO, which establishes regional air-navigation plans; creates standards and helps with aviation security; streamlines customs, immigration and public health formalities; and drafts air-law conventions.

Thus, these and other agencies of the United Nations are working in cooperation with the Government of India. It is a two-way cooperation. India has full faith, as a matter of policy, in the United Nations and its objectives, aims and goals of international peace and security, peaceful settlement of disputes, all-round social and economic development, and prevention of such vital projects as population activity, education and health for all, food and agricultural growth on scientific lines and welfare of women and children. India has always cooperated with numerous activities of the UN and its agencies. In return, India has greatly benefited from numerous agencies and funds provided by such bodies as UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, FAO, WHO, IMF and the World Bank.

### **INDIA AND RESTRUCTURING OF UNITED NATIONS**

India has made a fresh attempt by reviving its demand for obtaining a permanent place in UN Security Council. India has emphasized that the new global governance system should come with “in-built flexibility” so that the changes of the ever –evolving world can be incorporated. It has been stressed that the UN Security Council will be more effective if it allows more representatives of developing countries, both as permanent and non-permanent members.

India supports a Charter based distribution of seats that addresses the lack of representation of African, Latin American and Caribbean countries and the lack of adequate representation of Asian countries in the permanent membership. India plans to cast its lot with three other nations Japan, Germany and Brazil in seeking a larger, 15-member Security Council.

The United Nations had only 51 countries as its members in 1945. Most of the countries in the world were then under colonial rule. Now 192 countries are its members. As the membership increased the demand to reform the UN and its Security Council gained momentum. The first major reform in the Security Council was effected in 1963 when its membership was increased to 15. Initially the Security Council had 11 members, five permanent and six non-permanent. Non-permanent members used to be elected for a period of 2 years by members of the United Nations. Five Permanent members till today remain the same the USA, Russia, China, France and the UK.

Another wave of reform ensued after terrorist attack on the US in 2001 and by 2003 a “High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change” was constituted. Its recommendations culminated in adoption of a resolution in 2005 in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The High Level Panel had recommended two models for change in the Security Council. The first model suggested that the strength of the Security Council be increased to 24 from the existing 15. Out of the new 9 members, six were to be permanent and 3 nonpermanent. Panel also recommended that there should be no veto power to the new permanent members. The second model also recommended the increase in membership by nine, but out of these 8 were to be elected for a 4-year renewable term and one for a 2-year non-renewable term. As a quick next move India, Germany, Brazil and Japan, the four

major aspirants came together and formed G-4 to garner support for their move. They put forth a draft proposals in June, 2005 which was a successful move in that 35 countries were co-sponsors of this including France, the permanent member of the Security Council. These proposals was very much on the lines of the First Model of the High Level Panel except that it wanted veto powers in principle, but only to use it following the next General Assembly review after 15 years.

India's credentials The Government of India has strongly put across to the international community India's case for permanent membership of the Security Council which is based on India's extensive contribution to the activities of the UN particularly the maintenance of international peace and security. By any objective criteria such as population, territorial size, GDP, economic potential, civilization legacy, cultural diversity, political system and past and on-going contributions to the activities of the UN - especially to UN peacekeeping operations - India is eminently suited for permanent membership of an expanded UNSC. India's performance as a non-permanent member of the Security Council during 2011- 2012 has also significantly strengthened India's claim to permanent membership. India and the UNSC: India has served as a non-permanent member of the UNSC for 7 terms, viz. in 1950 – 1951, 1967 – 1968, 1972 – 1973, 1977 – 1978, 1984 – 1985, 1991 – 1992, and 2011 – 2012. India has again put forth its candidature for the 2021-22 terms.

Efforts by India along with Brazil, Japan and Germany (together known as the G-4) has proposed expansion of the membership of the UNSC in both the permanent and non-permanent categories. Separately, India is spearheading a group of around 42 developing countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America – called the L.69 Group – which has demanded urgent action on the UNSC reform front. With a view to harness the support of the 54-member strong African Group, the L.69 has engaged in discussions with the Committee of C-10 of the African Union to evolve a joint position on UNSC reform. India is also pursuing the matter through bilateral channels with our interlocutors. A large number of countries have supported India's initiatives for reform of the UNSC as well as endorsed its candidature for permanent membership. There is also broad support for the idea that there should a concrete outcome on the issue of UNSC reform in 2015, which will mark the 70th anniversary of the UN and the 10th anniversary of the 2005 World Summit which had called for 'early' reform of the UNSC.

\*\*\*\*\*